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EASTERN

F.O.

371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 46

pp. 7665 - 7855

CLOSED  
UNTIL

1978

61786

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Reference: **FO** 371/61786

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E

E 7665

1947

PALESTINE

21 AUG 1947

Registry  
Number

E 7665/46/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir M. Black.

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

779

19 Aug

21

Last Paper.

7653

References.

(Print.)

61786

(How disposed of.)

8/ ~~Amman~~  
Fitzgerald. P.O.

Leag. n.m.

Aug 23.

8/ from M. as above. Leag.

M. 9.5.  
Oct. 3(Action  
completed.)

9/20/8

(Index.)

6/4/48

Next Paper.

7675

Arrest at KARLSBAD of 4 Jews by CZECHOSLOVAK  
authorities <sup>W.S.</sup> ~~D.B.~~According to official Wiener Zeitung of Aug 17.  
reported arrest by Czech authorities of  
Karlsbad of 4 Jewish group members in  
possession of bombs. Military authorities  
at Prague first out names of  
men arrested.ADDRESSED PRAGUE 21.  
(Minutes.)Copies: C.D. } usual names  
M.I. }Northern Depts. 6.4.4. 26/8.  
German Pol. Dept. 229/m.Gen. P. Vennartel 902 26/9.  
ADDRESSED PRAGUE 26.

10 Sept. 29

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Cypher OTP

E 7665

DEPARTMENTAL No. 1

FROM VIENNA TO PRAGUE

(From British Diplomatic Representative in Austria)

Sir H. Mack  
No. 21

D. 8.00 p.m. 19th August 1947.

19th August 1947.

R. 12.05 a.m. 20th August 1947.

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 779

IMPORTANT

rrrrrr

According to official "Wiener Zeitung" of August 17th  
"Rude Prave" [grp.undec.] reported arrest by Czechoslovak  
authorities at Karlsbad of 4 Jewish Irgun members in  
possession of bombs.

2. Military authorities ask if you can find out  
names of the men arrested.

Foreign Office pass to Prague.

[Repeated to Prague].



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E 7661 / 46 R1

AMENDMENT SLIP.

FILES.

Vienna telegram No. 26 to Prague of  
26th September, repeated to Foreign Office.

For "Repeated to: Foreign Office,  
unnumbered" please read "Repeated to Foreign Office  
No. 902".

COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT.

28th September, 1947.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371 / 61786

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En Clair

E 1 1

FILES

5

23 SEP 1947

FROM VIENNA TO PRAGUE

E

Sir H. Mack.

D: 4.47 p.m. 25th September, 1947.

No. 26.

26th September, 1947. R: 7.50 p.m. 26th September, 1947.

Repeated to: Foreign Office, <sup>902</sup>Unnumbered.

@@@ @@@ @@@ 4/31:  
E.766

My telegram No. 21 paragraph 2. Have you any information.

Vienna states Gr.1 will be given tomorrow 27th September.

W  
03-277

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1563

1947

E

E 7675

21 AUG 1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E 7675-46/31  
FROM }  
No. }  
Dated }  
Received in Registry } 15/245/47  
13. Aug.  
21

Very on Subject  
Encloses report which appeared in New York Times of Aug 12 about visit which are stated to have been expressed by the Chief of R.P. Dept of the American Command for Austria to UNSCOP.

Last Paper

7665

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Minutes.)

P. 24/8.  
N.A. Dept.  
German (Refugee) Dept. 11/8  
R 219.

*[Signature]*  
(J.E. CABLE)  
21/8

Very tendentious

JB Aug 21

(Action completed)

*[Signature]* 1/9

(Index)

*[Signature]* 6/4/48

Next Paper

7706.

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Reference: **FO 371/61786**

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E 7675  
21 AUG 1947

BRITISH EMBASSY.

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

13th August 1947

Ref: 15/245/47

Dear Department,

We enclose herein a report which appeared in the New York Times of August 12th about views which are stated to have been expressed by the Chief of the Displaced Persons Department of the American Command for Austria to the United Nations Special Committee about Palestine.

We are sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Vienna.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Eastern Department,  
Foreign Office,  
London, S.W.1.

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## Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The American occupation force in Austria, he said, had had the job of caring for almost 92 per cent of refugee Jews reaching Austria.

The subcommittee met this evening with Chancellor Leopold Figl, Foreign Minister Karl Gruber and other officials of the Austrian Government. It will leave by plane for Germany tomorrow.

Reference: **FO** 371/61786







Reference: **FO 371/61786**

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4. Full text by bag.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61786



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1947

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E 7759

23 AUG 1

ESTINE

Registry Number E7759/46/31

FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

Embassy

Moscow

623.

19 Aug  
23

Relatives Russian Press

Apex Moscow Ed 123 (Soveng) (E7754/46/31)  
How much extract from 'Pravda' of  
17 Aug entitled 'Leads and Handlers'  
by Ya Viktorov.

Last Paper

7754

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Minutes.)

Northern Dept.

Jable  
(T.C. Cable)

23/8

JBing 23

(Action completed)

(Index)

GC/627

6/4/48

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No. 623

(403/97/47)

E 7759

12

HIS Majesty's Charge d'Affaires 23 AUG Moscow  
presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs  
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British EMBASSY

MOSCOW

19th August, 193... 47.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Moscow telegram No. 123 (Saving) of 19th August, 1947.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
"Pravda" 17th August, 1947.	"Liars and Slanderers" by Ya Viktorov.
Copy sent to Jerusalem under U/n P/L.	



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Reference: FO 371/61786

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PART I

17th August, 1947

PRAVDA

LIES AND SLANDERS

By Ya. Viktorov

A British Major, the Conservative and Member of Parliament, Tufton Beamish, has every reason to lay claim to be numbered amongst the most fervent supporters of Hitler and Goebbels. He fully deserves this by his speech in the debate on Palestine which took place on August 13th in the House of Commons. The speech of Beamish showed that the fascist Major has not only thoroughly learnt the fascist method of lies and provocation but has also made the attempt to put this method into practice.

Beamish in his speech declared that Jewish terrorists in Palestine were being trained... in the Caucasus in the Soviet Union. Having finally lost his sense of humour, he even communicated such a "detail" that the instruction is taking place in "one of the sanatoria which belongs to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions".

It was only the followers of the Beamishes on the Ankara radio who could seize upon this nonsense, which indeed they did on the same day.

The Ankara radio did not fail to repeat the slander of Beamish and thus established for this radio agency the reputation of a lying and slanderous source of news.

When he made his provocative declaration, Beamish knew that he was uttering a two-fold lie: in the first place because he knows very well that there are not and cannot be any Jewish terrorists in the USSR, and secondly because he, like the other Members of Parliament, know perfectly well where and how terrorists receive their training. The Labour M.P. Crossman declared in the course of the debate: "Of course we all know where the majority of these people receive their training. They received it in the British army during the war, where they were taught subversive activity either in Palestine or in the Balkans. The majority of these people received excellent training under the direction of British officers".

Being well aware of all this, Major Beamish was careful to prepare a way of retreat for himself by stating:

"I have no way of testing whether this information is correct".

At this point the unlucky speaker was interrupted by laughter.

This laughter offended Major Beamish. Evidently he had counted on a different reception, and in this perhaps he had reason. In any case it is impossible not to observe the very strange fact that the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, when making a reply to the speakers who had taken part in the debate, refrained from denying the declarations made by Beamish.

This fact gives grounds for thinking that the provocative statement of Beamish had the purpose of distracting the attention of British public opinion from those unsavoury manifestations which had been taking place in recent days in England in connection with the events in Palestine and concerning which the usually very garrulous British press has written in a very modest and restrained manner. We have in mind the wave of British pogroms which have taken place throughout Britain and which have followed all the rules of the fascist "art" - the beating up of peaceful citizens, the destruction of shops, looting and violence. These were not "chance outbursts" and isolated "anti-Jewish demonstrations", as the British press headed by the "Daily Herald" has been attempting to maintain. These were real pogroms and took place not in some out-of-the way places but in London, Manchester, Plymouth, Brighton, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle, Gateshead and other towns. The famous British police found themselves "unable to deal" with the fascist hooligans, and the pogroms continued for a whole week.

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17th August, 1947

It is impossible to pass over the fact which has been mentioned by the democratic public of all countries that the fascist hoodligans who organised the pogroms have practically been left unpunished. Indeed it is impossible to regard as punishment the fine of 16 pounds to which one of the main organisers of the pogroms, Job Rogan, was sentenced.

In the British Parliament, that citadel of highly praised bourgeois democracy, in the course of debate on the Palestinian question there was no inquiry about the Jewish pogroms in Britain. It is difficult to imagine that there were no electors in Britain who would suggest that their representative in Parliament should ask a question on this matter. It must be supposed that such inquiries were sent from the various localities. There is evidence of this in the numerous resolutions of various democratic organisations. However, those who bear responsibility for such monstrous events as the Jewish pogroms were evidently successful in organising a conspiracy of silence concerning these shameful events.

No inquiry was made in Parliament, but this question which has been put forward by events and which has been directed at the leaders of British policy, nevertheless speaks sufficiently loudly... The liar and cowardly slanderer, Major Beamish, has made an attempt by his provocative fabrication to by-pass this question. His attempt has failed: it is impossible with the fig leaf of stupid provocation to conceal a monstrous event which has brought shame to the country.

The question of the Jewish pogroms in Britain still awaits an answer. This answer is awaited by the honourable people of all the world who cannot be deceived by the Beamishes nor by those who stand behind them. (1 column) (Full summary) PRAVDA 17.8.47

PROFESSOR BERNAL ON THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON 16th August TASS The British Association of Scientific Workers has drafted a plan which has the aim of mobilising the national effort for overcoming the present economic difficulties. Professor Bernal, the well known scholar and President of the Association, setting out the attitude of the Association, declared on August 14th that the gulf between imports and exports could be done away with only by means of raising the productivity of labour. This could be done only on the basis of wider research work and the development of machine construction. The Association demands that three scientists and three engineers should be included in the Cabinet's consultative planning committee. The Association also demands that at least one-third of the scientific workers, laboratories and equipment of military institutions should be transferred and utilised for the needs of civil production. The Association considers that the Government cannot justify the expenditure of a great part of the effort in scientific research work on military research, at a time when the security of the country depends on the re-establishment of industry.

(23 lines)

PRAVDA 17.3.47

## BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

SOME PAPERS BRITAIN AND THE ORIENTAL STATES  
LONDON 16th August TASS Reuter reports that a  
representative of the British Foreign Office has declared that the report  
from Tokio of the transfer to the USA of the vacancies offered to represen-  
tatives of British business circles for visiting Japan has evoked the surprise  
of the British Government.

So far only one-third of the British quota has been used up.

used up. The Foreign Office representative declared that Britain was not informed in advance of the intention of the Americans to take over the free vacancies. (14 lines) (PR & IZV) SOME PAPERS 17.8.47

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*E 7769/46/31*

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61786

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E

E 7806

15

Yb

PALESTINE

13 SEP

Registry  
Number

EY806/46/31

FROM

Mr. H. A. Akeron  
General Office

No.

Dated

75872/154

Received  
in Registry

Aug 22.

- 25.

Activities of UNRSCOP. Mr. Bellamy.

Enclosed copies of last letter from Mr. Bellamy  
of Aug 20 reporting the activities of  
UNRSCOP. prior to drafting of  
report.

Last Paper.

EY469

(Minutes.)

References.

EY453/46/31.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action  
completed.)

9 E 16/10/9

(Index.)

6/11/46

Next Paper.

7814

30047 F.O.P.

Mr. Bealey on return

Our attitude towards  
accepting a provisional  
trusteeship arrangement, with  
Great Britain still administering  
the country, is bound to be  
affected by the recommendation  
on immigration made by Cttee.

D.S. Davis

Aug 25

Though now largely out of date,  
these letters are still of interest.

Please enter white.

H. Bealey 30/8

RQ  
7/9

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25 AUG 1947 TOP SECRET

Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
S.W. 1.

August 22, 1947.

75872/154.

*My dear Beeley,*

EY806

25 AUG 1947

--- I enclose copies, without their enclosures,  
of two letters from MacGillivray; one of the  
20th August to Trafford Smith, and one of the  
same date to me.

From paragraph 2 of the former, you will see  
that your letter to MacGillivray, E.7453/46/G.,  
of the 18th August on immigration was most timely.  
I can recommend, for entertainment value, paragraph  
7 of the evidence given to the sub-committee by  
the American D.P. Commander in Austria.

From the letter to me you will see that  
MacGillivray has submitted to the Chairman the  
notes extracted from the questionnaire of March  
1944, which we discussed and which forms the  
subject of my letter of the 15th August to  
MacGillivray. MacGillivray has taken the  
cautionary action you advised in hinting to the  
Chairman that it would be most undesirable should  
any wide currency be given to the fact that in  
1944 HMG had under serious consideration a plan of  
partition for Palestine which involved the  
re-arrangement of Arab sovereignty in the Middle  
East. You will also see that the Jewish Agency

/have

H. BEELEY, ESQ., CBE.

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17  
have got their hands on a copy of the  
Harris "Study of ~~Partition~~". This was  
only to be expected and I do not think  
that the Agency representatives will be  
able to shake the confidence of the  
Committee in the statistics used.

--- I also enclose a copy of a letter  
which I have sent today to MacGillivray.

*Yours ever,*

*W.A.C. Mathieson*

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

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G E N E V A.

20th August, 1947.

2. The arguments over the merits of partition, federation and confederation are proceeding unabated and Bunche told me yesterday that it was an understatement to say that the Committee was "bogged down". They have not even yet decided to agree to disagree and meantime Vigier, Reedman and others are standing by waiting to know what to draft. It would seem, however, from a conversation I had with Entezam at dinner last night, that a majority of the Committee has reached the conclusion that, whatever constitutional solution may be advocated, there would in any case have to be a longish period of transition during which the agreed constitutional solution would have to be introduced by the application of some degree of force. I gather that they have had considerable discussion as to who the instrument for enforcing the decision should be and that the majority have come to the conclusion that there could be no alternative to Great Britain since she is already there in Jerusalem, has unrivalled knowledge of the problem and can call up on staff with the necessary experience. But they have been beset with doubts, which have been immeasurably strengthened since the debates in the Houses and Crossman's talk to them, whether H.M.G. is willing to shoulder the burden any longer, and the line recently taken by Rand and others in scraps of conversation I have had with them has been that it is Great Britain's duty to carry on because, after all, she did get herself into the mess by issuing the Balfour Declaration and that it would be immoral for her to withdraw now without seeing the thing through. I gather from Entezam, however, that some of the members entertain grave doubts as to whether Britain will agree to implement alone any proposals made by the Assembly and that the Committee is therefore likely to suggest that some other country should, if Britain desired, be asked to assist in the implementation of the policy determined, not by sharing administrative control, but in the provision of troops for the maintenance of order and the enforcement of decisions and also, possibly, in the financing of any development schemes deemed necessary for the oiling of the wheels during the transition period. They have, of course, America in mind.

be /

Trafford Smith, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
London. S.W.1.

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be the ultimate objective. It is not unlikely that the recommendations will contain one for the immediate admission of a considerable number, say, 50,000, with a further 50,000 spread out over a period of two years, the first 50,000 to include all those now in Cyprus and all children now in the D.P. camps. But this subject has not yet been gone into in detail. Entezam himself will have to vote against partition and against immigration, but personally he is convinced that some substantial immigration is necessary and believes that, if accompanied by an undertaking by members of the United Nations to take their share of displaced Jews, there is a good chance of it being accepted by the Arab States. Therefore, while he will vote formally against substantial immigration (and the other members appreciate his reasons for doing so), he endeavours in Committee to negotiate a majority decision in favour.

4. Spitz seemed to think that a glacier on Mt. Blanc which we visited together last Sunday, was sufficiently free of eavesdroppers to tell me that the attitude of the Yugoslav was most encouraging. He had been very helpful and sensible and had shown himself quite open to compromise and not at all firmly wedded to his bi-national state proposals. No-one doubted that he was under Soviet directions and the attitude taken by him therefore gave hope that the majority recommendations would not meet with obstructionism from the Russians in the Assembly.

5. I learn that an emissary of the Mufti, Rassim el Khalidi, has arrived in Geneva with letters of accreditation to the Committee. I will try to find out more about this.

6. Horowitz told me that he had certain proposals designed to allay any doubts which any parties might have as to the sincerity of the Jewish Agency in accepting a State in a part of Palestine. These were that the declaration of the State should be accompanied by three written guarantees that the frontiers would be respected for all time:-

- (a) By the Arab States, on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine and themselves, that the frontiers would be respected on their side;
- (b) By the United Nations, on their own behalf, that they would resist any violation of the frontiers on the part of the Jews or any attempt to obtain a revision;
- (c) By the Jewish Agency or the Zionist Organization or the new Jewish Government, by solemn declaration taken before the United Nations that the frontiers would always be respected.

In order to obtain the Jewish State immediately the Agency appears to be prepared to use any argument and to give any assurance asked for. But they have been very shaken by the effect on the Committee of a reading of the facts contained in "A Study of Partition". This arrived at a time when the Agency was pressing for an even larger share of the country than previously demanded, including Jerusalem for their capital.

Trafford Smith, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
London. S.W.1.

7. Enclosed /

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7. Enclosed, rather belatedly, is a copy of the Press Release of Hood's sub-committee from the D.P. camps. The report of the sub-committee has now been presented to the Committee but I do not think that it is likely to be given any distribution at present; it will probably form an appendix to the Committee's report. I think that the whole Committee is glad that they sent this sub-committee; they now realise that the D.P. camps are an integral part of the problem and that anything they may have to say about them in their report will have greater authority on account of the knowledge gained first-hand by the sub-committee. When the report of the sub-committee is available it will be very interesting to read the verbatim record of the evidence of Colonel McFeeley, Chief of the Displaced Persons section in the U.S. Zone of Austria. For those who enjoy a tense situation this was the highlight of the tour. He is reported to have been complacent, conceited and very outspoken. He began by saying that the Jewish D.P. problem was a mere nothing and he did not know why all the fuss was being made about it. He had far bigger refugee problems on hand created by those b - s the Soviet satellites who were persecuting their minorities and giving him a big headache by forcing thousands of miserable refugees over their frontiers into his camps and doing nothing to stop the flow from the east. The Yugoslavs were the worst. By this time Brilej was rigid in his chair and red in the face; Hood, as chairman, was obliged to pull McFeeley up and remind him that what he was saying was being put on the records of an international body. Whereupon McFeeley replied, "You can quote me." When asked how he would tackle the problem of the Jewish D.P.s in his area McFeeley said, "Well, when I was in Palestine during the war there was a great big desert there. So far as I know it's still there." Among other of McFeeley's indiscretions was to admit to Alexander in the course of a social party that he had instructions from Washington not to facilitate the visit of the sub-committee. The account which has been given to me of McFeeley's evidence is no doubt elaborated to make a good story but there is no doubt that, whatever he may in fact have said, he did not make a good impression on the sub-committee.

8. I enclose two copies of the full memorandum prepared by the Arab Office, i.e. including the appendices. Hourani gave copies of this to the Committee and to me yesterday.

D.C.M.

Copy to:  
V. Fox-Strangways,  
The Secretariat,  
Jerusalem, enclosing  
one copy of the Arab  
Office memorandum  
"The Future of  
Palestine".

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**GENEVA.**

20th August, 1947.

**CONCLUSIONS**

2. I do not think that there need be any fear that the presentation of "A Study of Partition" and of these notes will be taken by the members of the Committee to indicate that Partition is the only policy which H.M.G. regards as feasible. Indeed the reaction to receipt of "A Study of Partition" was rather the reverse, that it was intended to show how difficult it is to establish a viable Jewish State which will not contain Arabs in greater proportion than would be the proportion of Jews in an undivided Palestine. I have had to explain that this document was presented simply in response to the request of the Chairman for information of this kind and without any intention of advocating or deprecating a solution by Partition. I have repeated that H.M.G. has no desire to put forward any proposal at this stage or to attempt to sway the views of the Committee towards any particular solution.

3. It was in the course of an interview which the Chairman had with the High Commissioner, at which no-one else was present, that the question of making available to the Committee certain practical information as to the administrative working of Partition was discussed. Thereafter the Chairman reminded me at not infrequent intervals, both in Palestine and here, that the High Commissioner had said that he hoped to be able to make a certain document available to him. In the course of a conversation which I had with the High Commissioner on the subject I understood that

Sandstrom /

W.A.C. Mathieson, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON. S.W.1.

Reference: **FO 371/61786**

COMMUNICATIONS RECORD OFFICE, LONDON



22

Sandstrom had in fact been shown the document containing the Replies to the 1944 questionnaire. I doubt, however, whether he had time to do more than glance at it in the course of his discussion with the High Commissioner. But it would seem that he does know that some rearrangement of Arab sovereignty in the Middle East was under contemplation at that time and, in conversation with him, I have not denied this, although I have given no particulars. He has, for example, in comment to me on the Harris "Study of Partition", said that he assumed that the Huleh was taken out of the Jewish State in the 2nd Revision plan so as to leave the way open for junction of Galilee with Syria as an alternative to the Lebanon. As you know both he and Mohn were at one time very keen on a solution which would give Samaria and the Hebron area to Trans-Jordan and the Arab parts of Galilee to the Lebanese; they still dislike the idea of a partition under which there would be an Arab State having two halves separated territorially by a Jewish area. But I do not think that Sandstrom knows the precise nature of the arrangement upon which the Ministerial Committee's questionnaire was predicated. However, I have thought it best, as a precaution, to say to him that he was no doubt aware that at the time these notes were drawn up H.M.G. had under consideration a scheme which was not confined to the territorial limits of Palestine, that it would really embarrass H.M.G. if it should become known at this juncture that such a scheme had been under review, and that therefore I hoped that no mention would be made to anyone else of any such proposal. I added that the notes now handed to him had been so modified that they should give no hint that the scheme went beyond the limits of Palestine. Sandstrom said that he quite understood the need for secrecy and that he would take care not to say anything which might indicate that anything but a scheme limited to Palestine had been under serious examination by H.M.G.

4. Mohn told me on Monday that Horowitz had been to see him and had told him that he had obtained a copy of "A Study of Partition" and that he wished to point out that the figures on which Government had worked were unreliable and gave distorted pictures of the various partition schemes examined; in particular the Arab estimates of population were inflated on account of the wartime rationing system and should be reduced by at least 10%. In conversation with the Chairman I mentioned that I understood that Horowitz had received a copy of "A Study of Partition" and that the only copies which had left my custody were the 15 numbered copies which I had presented to the Committee last week as a confidential document. Sandstrom replied that he regretted that this should have happened, that it was deplorable that requests to treat a document as confidential were not respected and that he realised that, in consequence, H.M.G. might, with every justification, be reluctant to supply other helpful information of this nature. He added that in view of what had happened he thought that he would not make generally available to all members of the Committee the notes which I had just presented; Mohn would, if necessary, have to rehash some of them and serve them up as notes of his own based on information supplied to him by me.

5. Horowitz /

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Reference:

FO 371/61786



23

5. Horowitz and Eban have been very active during the last few days, pressing the merits of partition. Horowitz produced to the Committee a document on the viability of the Arab State; it attempted to show that, supported by the Nablus soap industry, the Arab State could not fail to be viable. From those of the members of the Committee who had seen a Nablus soap factory the memorandum received only ridicule.

6. There is no doubt that the Agency's information as to what goes on at meetings is speedy and accurate. On Monday at 12 noon the viability of an Arab State came under discussion in Committee and the Australians poured scorn on the possibility of the State being viable. Immediately after lunch, and before the session was resumed at 3.30, Horowitz and Eban were up at the Palais des Nations where they sought an interview with the Australians and endeavoured to convince them of the potentialities of the Nablus soap industry; this merely produced a howl of mirth from Atyeo. The Secretariat are convinced that the Agency receives a detailed report after each meeting from Grandos or Gonzalez. And it is from the Agency that Jon Kimche no doubt gets his information - see, for example, the report of his given in the enclosed cutting from the Palestine Post of 12th August; it is remarkably accurate; the material can only have been obtained through one of the Committee members.

*D.C.M.*

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TOP SECRET

Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
S.W. 1.

24

75872/154

August 22, 1947.

--- With reference to your letter to Trafford Smith of the 20th August, I enclose 6 copies of the official report of the debate in the House of Commons of the 12th August and the debate in the House of Lords on the 15th August. The feeling there expressed that Great Britain should withdraw from Palestine was, of course, largely engendered by the strong public reaction to the hanging of the two sergeants by the Jews. There was a feeling that so long as we remained in Palestine we would be exposing our troops to a succession of outrages which we apparently could do very little to prevent. Our feeling here is that this reaction is not transitory and although it may lose some of its force if further outrages do not take place, the debates have made a great impression on Ministers. Mr Creech Jones, when commenting on a paper which we put up to him recently remarked that one of the main factors that must be considered in our study of the committee's report must be a strong feeling in the country and in Parliament that we should get out of Palestine.

--- With reference to your telegram of the 21st August, I enclose a copy of the Pensions Ordinance, No. 1 of 1944, in the first schedule of which will be found the rules. I am very sorry that it is such a dilapidated copy but it is the one on which we have been working in the Department and the only one immediately available as our legal

/library

D.C. MACGILLIVRAY, Esq.

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Reference: FO 371/61786

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25

I am sending a copy of this letter to Beeley.

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FO 371/61786

27

25 AUG

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

R. 10.35 a.m. August 25th, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem No. 50 SAVING

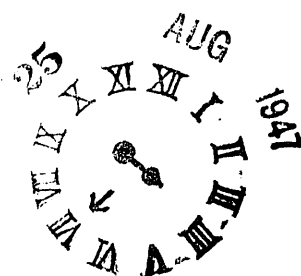
JJJ

2. Al Rai al 'Am expresses surprise at the mildness of the Palestine Government reaction to the murder of the two sergeants, and wonders if any Arab's life would have been worth living if these crimes had been committed by Arabs.

3. Liwa al Istiqlal commenting on Mr. Creech Jones speech contrasts the vehemence of his condemnation of Jewish terrorism with the lack of effective steps against it. Although the Colonial Secretary admitted the responsibility of the Jewish Agency, the paper continues, no action has been taken against its members. The conclusion is drawn that Britain and the Jews are hand in hand.

4. Al Shaab comments adversely on the news that UNSCOP has heard evidence from European displaced persons.

5. Al Rai al 'Am is independent. Liwa al Istiqlal is violently nationalist and Right Wing. Al Shaab is moderate Left Centre.



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1 2

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1947

E

PALESTINE

E 7843

25 AUG 1

28

Registry  
Number  
FROM

E7843/46/31

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

Embassy  
Baghdad  
295-  
19 Aug  
26

Last Paper

7814

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action  
completed)

(Index)

PSM/18/8

11/11/48

Next Paper

7850

Protection of Arabs of Palestine  
Refer Baghdad tel 746 (E7653/46/31)  
Now transmit copy of my Foreign Affairs  
note n° 1326/1326/237/13 of Aug 16. re  
Protection of Arabs of Palestine against  
Zionism

(Minutes.)

Please see also E 7653

*J. Phil*  
(S.E. CABLE)

26/8

Mr Bealey on return

Now see E 8016

H.B. 5/9

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO 371/61786**

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No. <sup>295</sup>236/62/47

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Charge d'Affaires at Bagdad  
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.

and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British.....Embassy,.....

.....Bagdad. ....

19th August, 1947.

Reference to previous correspondence: 7653/56

Bagdad Tel. to Foreign Office No.746 of the 18th August, 1947

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs Note Verbale No. 1326/1326/237/13 of the 16th August, 1947 addressed to Bagdad.	Palestine : Policy Protection of Arabs of Palestine against Zionism.



E 7843

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61786

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No.1326/1326/237/13.

Bagdad, 16th August, 1947.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs present their compliments to His Britannic Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad, and have the honour to invite the Embassy's attention to the News reports of Zionist aggression on the Arabs in Palestine, a matter which has greatly disturbed the Iraqi public opinion. In this connection, the Iraqi Government wish to remind His Britannic Majesty's Embassy that the Arab States delegations to the Palestine Conference in London had impressed upon the British Government the necessity of its disarming the inhabitants of Palestine, the British Government then promised to exert its best efforts in this respect. Since the efforts exerted by the British Government in this connection did not succeed, the States of the Arab League submitted to it a Note by the Secretary General of the Arab League dated 26th December, 1946, asking it to take necessary measures to arm the Arab people in Palestine in order that they might be able to repel the increasing danger and defend themselves, in accordance with the principle previously adopted by the British Government in relation with the Jews of Palestine when it armed them.

The Iraqi Government has not yet learnt that the British Government has armed the Arabs of Palestine to defend themselves and protect their lives against the Zionist aggression. It, therefore, asks the British Government to give adequate assurances that it will take all necessary measures to protect the lives and property of the Arabs of Palestine. It is needless to say here that the continuance of Zionist aggression in Palestine without the British Government on its part taking adequate preventive measures will bring the Iraqi Government to consider seriously the plans which should be taken to assist the Arabs of Palestine in defending themselves, in order to introduce peace and tranquility into the souls of the Arabs of Palestine and that the Iraqi Government is alert to carry out its duties for the protection of their lives, on the one hand, and to cool down the Iraqi people who is disturbed on account of these frightful aggressions, on the other hand.

In awaiting the assurances of His Britannic Majesty's Government in this respect, the Ministry avail themselves of the opportunity to express their highest consideration and esteem.

His Britannic Majesty's Embassy,  
Bagdad.

FO 371/61786

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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Class *371* .....

Piece *61786* .....

Following document(s) retained in the

Department of origin under Section 3 (4)

of the Public Records Act, 1958

*E7850/46/31*

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78

PALESTINE

10 SEP 1964

**Registry  
Number**

**FROM**

No.

*Dated*

Received

### in Registry

## Last Paper

EY850

## References

EY855/48/9

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)

**(Index)**

## Next Paper

7853

(Minutes)

Para. 1 and reference (in E 7806).  
Musa Bey Alami, who is back in London,  
mentioned Rassin Khalidi's presence in  
Geneva when we met yesterday. Unfortunately  
I had not then read these letters, and  
so did not ask him whether he thought  
Khalidi had contacted the Committee.

Res. enter white

H. B. Lerley 31/8

RG  
v 7/9

**reference:**

FO 371 / 61786

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SECRET

EY852

26 AUG 1947 GENEVA.

Ref. 13.

21st August, 1947.

32

I regret that the fifth paragraph of my letter to you of 20th August was written carelessly; it should have begun "It is rumoured" instead of "I learn". The story seems most improbable, but I suppose it is possible that the Mufti has made an offer (accompanied no doubt by threats). I have as yet heard no more to substantiate the rumour.

2. The Chairman, at short notice, asked me to dine alone with him last night. In the course of the meal he said that he proposed to let me have confidentially in due time an outline of recommendations in advance of release of the report. He asked me for views as to (a) obligations to British officials (about which I have written to you separately) and (b) the possibility of protecting the rights of minorities in respect of the ownership and tenancy of land. He also told me that the Committee had split up into three working groups; two groups, of four members each plus senior Secretariat staff, - working on problems connected with proposals for partition; one of these groups is concentrating on boundaries; and a third group, consisting of Yugoslavia, Persia and India (curious partners), - working on problems associated with a scheme for a federal State. He said that Hood's views had changed since his visit to the D.P. camps and that he was now working with the partitionists. Rand is also working in one of the partition groups, but there is a feeling that he does not belong there.

3. The Committee is getting tired; there are too many lawyers on it and they spend long hours discussing Great Britain's legal position under the Mandate, capitulations, the manner of executing treaties with the proposed new States and whether Great Britain has any sovereign rights in Palestine and, if so, how she had best divest herself of them. Jon Kimche in his article in the "Palestine Post" of 14th August (copy enclosed) is not so very wide of the mark. His informant is no doubt Granados and much of the article is wishful thinking; but it is true that there has been much criticism of Britain's political record in Palestine; this is less strong than it was; the members are beginning to appreciate some of the difficulties. But there remains a degree of criticism that the policy adopted, particularly in regard to immigration, is wrong and unsympathetic; this, coupled with pronouncements of hostility to British rule on the part of both communities in Palestine and, above all, the impression gained by many of the members that Britain does not want to stay (an impression greatly strengthened by the debates in Parliament and Crossman's account of the Commons' debate) have been, I think, sufficient to kill the idea of a further long period of trusteeship which several of the members seemed to favour some weeks ago. My present guess is that the following will be among the recommendations of a majority of the Committee:-

(a) /

Trafford Smith, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
LONDON. S.W.1.

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Reference:

FO 371/61786

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reference: ~~FO~~ **FO** 371 / 61786

61786

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Copy to:

V. Fox-Strangways, Esq.,  
The Secretariat,  
Jerusalem.



# UNSCOP AGREES SOLUTION MUST BE IMPOSED MANDATE MUST BE CANCELLED

34

By JON KIMCHE, Special to The Palestine Post

LONDON, Wednesday. — There is a nasty shock coming to the British Government and to most of the members of Parliament who participated in last night's Palestine debate in the House of Commons, when the United Nations Committee report that Britain no longer has any title to Palestine.

A few days in Geneva, in the company of UNSCOP, about to draft its proposals for the future of Palestine, suffice to illustrate how little the Government in London and Parliament have been conscious of what is going on there.

It is true that there are few outward indications in Geneva, from where I have just returned, that this will be anything but just one more U.N. report and just one more in the long line of solutions for Palestine that never survived the report stage. Eleven respectable gentlemen move leisurely from the revitalized Palais de Nations to an aperitif at the Globe or the Bavaria. The last thing one would suspect of a pleasant Swedish Judge or a dour, impressive Canadian, or a cautious Dutchman, is that they are preparing a mine that may explode more unpleasantly inside Mr. Bevin's or Mr. Creech Jones' Departments than anything the terrorists have done.

For nothing could be less true of the picture which appears to be forming in the mind of this U.N. Committee than that which emerged from the debate in the House of Commons last night.

It is not even true that the Committee has ideologically broken up into those who are pro-Jewish, pro-Arab, and pro-British. Some press reports have tended to create the impression that the three Latin Americans, the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav delegates were pro-Jewish, the Indian and Iranian delegates pro-Arab, and the Swede, Dutch, Canadian and Australian pro-British.

## Unanimous Opinion

Actually, the Committee is far more open-minded, with however, one unanimous opinion.

The bitter truth which the British Government has to face is that there is not a single voice left on the Committee prepared to justify Britain's record of Administration. In fact, those members who were most concerned that justice be done to the much maligned British have become their severest critics.

On this the Committee is agreed. Whatever solution it may yet propose, it has been decided for all practicable purposes that the record of the British Administration and of the character of the British title to Palestine call for a formal cancellation of the Mandate.

The British, according to the Committee, have by their record destroyed their political title to occupy and administer Palestine: the Committee could also not discover any moral title, and the mere mention of strategic requirements is anathema to these eleven men.

Mr. Creech Jones illustrated this failure to see what is coming when he said, in last night's debate that, he hopes the U.N. Committee would produce a report acceptable to Jews and Arabs. But UNSCOP is sufficiently realistic to realize that there is no solution in the world that would at present be acceptable to both.

The line of thought, probably unconsciously, behind Mr. Creech Jones' remark is to argue that unless there is such an agreement, this U.N. report will, in effect, be worthless. But it is precisely on this issue that the U.N. Committee appears to be breaking away from this formula, which in fact rules out every solution for Palestine.

What the Committee has re-

There has been a great deal written about the ultimate contents of the report in which it has been generally assumed that Partition is as good as decided by a majority of seven or eight members. This is not so. There is no decision at present.

The Committee appear to have agreed to substantial Jewish immigration, but not to unlimited immigration. They are worried by the economics of dividing so small a country and possibly creating an overcrowded Jewish State, which might become a problem because of the sheer pressure of its population on neighbouring states.

Because of this there is a tendency to look to a combination of Partition and Federation as a solution: that is not to create a sovereign Jewish and Arab state but some kind of confederation at the centre, controlling economic life with complete autonomy in other matters.

## British Stock Low

But the outstanding development of the discussions is, without doubt, that the central figure in the report will be neither the Jews nor the Arabs but the British. British stock is low at Geneva at present. Mr. Bevin's stock is even lower among the Committee members, who suspect the Foreign Office of planning yet another killing of a report.

The question asked here is not, like that of Mr. Creech Jones, whether Jews and Arabs will accept, but whether the British will try to wriggle out. The British Government is now being asked to make an unambiguous statement about that.

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Mr. Creech Jones illustrated this failure to see what is coming when he said, in last night's debate that, he hopes the U.N. Committee would produce a report acceptable to Jews and Arabs. But UNSCOP is sufficiently realistic to realize that there is no solution in the world that would at present be acceptable to both.

The line of thought, probably unconsciously, behind Mr. Creech Jones' remark is to argue that unless there is such an agreement, this U.N. report will, in effect, be worthless. But it is precisely on this issue that the U.N. Committee appears to be breaking away from this formula, which in fact rules out every solution for Palestine.

What the Committee has recognized is that whatever the solution, it will have to be imposed.

The Committee knows that the report will not be acceptable, either to the Arabs or the Jews, or to both. They propose, however, that the United Nations do what the British have always refused to do: impose their recommended solution with all the authority of the United Nations behind it.

They are therefore framing their final report in a manner which will ensure it a two-thirds majority at the Assembly and command the necessary majority, even if the Arab States, Britain, and possibly even the Soviet Union, oppose it.

Some concern has been shown by those members of the Committee who are most sympathetic to the British case about rumours that their report is not considered by the relevant Department in the Foreign Office, to be important and that it is believed there that a galaxy of opportunities for delaying action present themselves to the British Government, and that therefore Britain does not need to worry nor to make up her mind in a hurry.

The Committee is disturbed by this and is taking it into account. If this is really the calculation of experts in the Eastern Department, the Government might find itself badly and dangerously advised. There can be little doubt that in October at the latest, the British Government will be faced by a United Nations resolution which will require the evacuation of Palestine and abandonment there of British interests.

The only suggestion for the retention of British troops with Britain as trustee for the United Nations has so far come, it is reported, from delegations which have generally favoured the Arab case. This, it would seem, is now being advanced as the lesser evil of Partition or Federation with considerable autonomy for the Palestine Jews.

because of the sheer pressure of its population on neighbouring states.

Because of this, there is a tendency to look to a combination of Partition and Federation as a solution: that is not to create a sovereign Jewish and Arab state but some kind of confederation at the centre, controlling economic life with complete autonomy in other matters.

#### British Stock Low

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The question asked here is not, like that of Mr. Creech Jones, whether Jews and Arabs will accept, but whether the British will try to wriggle out. The British Government is now being asked to make an unambiguous statement about that.

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E 7853

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y9 1947

PALESTINE

Registry  
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

E 7853/46/31

B. O

banned.

Aug 26.

Question of Period of Trusteeship.

Copy of letter from M'Gillivray to Trafford  
Smith of Aug 22. dealing with period  
of Trusteeship and immigration quota  
during same.

Last Paper

E 7853/46/31

References

E 7853/46/31

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action  
completed)

JEM 10/9

(Index)

JEM 10/9

Next Paper

7851

(Minutes)

I understand that the C.O. have  
taken the necessary action on this  
letter.

Please enter whole

H. Beeley 31/8

R.P.  
7/9

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Reference: **FO 371/61786**

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36

GENEVA.

URGENT

EY 803

7/0

FO 371/61786

(a) /

**Trafford Smith, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON. S.W.1.**



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FO 371 / 61786

6. It would be much more satisfactory if I could make available to the Committee for study the whole of the document of which I now recommend only Note A of Annex IV should be given to the Chairman. It is the "plan for the movement of 100,000 Jews from Europe into the Jewish area of Palestine" to which reference is made on page 6 of Cmd. 7044 (Morrison plan) and it is also referred to in paragraph 19 of the final report of the committee of experts. I assume, however, that this could not be done without prior consultation with the American Government; there is no time for this and, in any case, it is possible that the Americans would not agree. I can see no objection, however, to providing the Committee with a copy of the note prepared by the British Delegation and suggest that there is no need to seek the agreement of America before doing so.

*D.C.M.*

Copy sent to

V. Fox-Strangways, Esq.  
The Secretariat,  
Jerusalem.

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No. E 7838/46/C

~~Top Secret.~~

**Secret.**

~~Confidential.~~

~~Restricted~~

~~Орел.~~

*Draft.*

U.K. Delegation  
Geneva

*Telegram.*

No. 1529 .

(Date) Aug 25

Repeat to :-

~~En Chœur.~~

~~Code.~~

*Cypher.*

*Distribution :-*

*Copies to :—*

Colonial  
office: Mr  
Nathusius

*F. O.,*

194 .

*Despatched*

 $\mathcal{M}.$ 

MOST IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

Following for RACELLIVRAY  
from Colonial office.  
Your letter to Stifford  
Smith of 22<sup>nd</sup> August.  
Agree you discuss with  
Chairman practical problems  
of immigration on lines  
suggested in your paragraph  
3. Harrison's letter of  
22<sup>nd</sup> August authorized  
delivery to Committee as  
confidential document of  
report of combined  
official study complete

**NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.**

3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

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## Reference:

FO 371/6786



40  
with appendices. As  
amplification of British  
view mentioned in  
Appendix D to that  
report you may  
submit typescript of  
Note A in Annex A  
to document referred to  
in your paragraph 4.

LB Aug 25

**NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.**

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Reference: **FO** 371/61786



41  
Secret.

Cypher/OTP.

FILES

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA (U.K. DELEGATION)

No. 1529.

D. 1.50 p.m. 25th August, 1947.

25th August, 1947.

-----  
MOST IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

Following for MacGillivray from Colonial Office.

Your letter to Trafford Smith of 22nd August.  
Agree you discuss with Chairman practical problems of  
immigration on lines suggested in your paragraph 3.  
Mathieson's letter of 22nd August authorised delivery  
to Committee as confidential document of report of  
combined official study complete with appendices. As  
amplification of British view mentioned in Appendix D  
to that report you may submit typescript of Note A. in  
Annex 4. to document referred to in your paragraph 4.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61786

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E 7855

42

PALESTINE

Registry  
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

E 7855/46/31

Kropperd Smith  
Belmont  
Office23 Aug  
26

Re: Palestine, Possible Consequences of Partition.

Transmit copy of letter from Mr. Gellway  
No 13 of Aug 20. dealing with problem of  
Jewish Immigration into new Jewish State

Last Paper

EY 853

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action  
completed)

Gellway 9/10

(Index)

9/14/46

Next Paper

7860

(Minutes)

My first thoughts on this extremely  
interesting letter are the following:

1. I think it is possible to exaggerate  
the danger to the authorities in a Jewish  
State from uncontrolled immigration. The  
immigrants cannot get to Palestine by  
their own individual efforts; the present  
traffic is almost entirely organised by  
Hagana; and Hagana is under the control  
of the Jewish Agency. Naturally Mr. Horowitz  
would not wish to explain this to Mr.  
Mr. Gellway.

2. Nevertheless there can be little doubt  
that the Jewish Government would raise  
immigration to the highest possible figure,  
and would sooner or later present the world  
with a demand for liberation. It is  
abundantly clear that partition is regarded  
by

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Reference:

FO 371/61786

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by 43

[The Jewish Agency is a stepping stone to control of the whole of Palestine. This is perhaps the principal argument against it, from the point of view of British interests.

3. I agree that the prospects for a solution of the Palestine problem would be immensely improved if the D.P. problem could be solved first. Unfortunately there seems to be little chance of this. (Mr. Macgillivray is right, I am sure, in suggesting that the future of Jewish D.P.s would not so much be ~~the~~ determined in isolation from the future of D.P.s as <sup>Palestine</sup> a whole. But the Committee's terms of reference do not preclude it from making recommendations on the latter).

4. I agree with Mr. Trafford Smith that the D.P. problem now seems likely to figure in the Assembly's debate on Palestine and should therefore be mentioned in the Delegation's brief. Perhaps <sup>United Nations</sup> ~~perhaps~~ Department could tell us what, if any, are the prevailing ideas about the permanent settlement of the D.P.s in general.

H.B. Bailey 29/8

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Minutes.

We now have the report of the U.N. Committee, which contains 11 unanimous recommendations, of which no. 6 reads as follows:

"It is recommended that the General Assembly undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centres, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem".

H.M. Government will probably wish to endorse this recommendation and to press for ~~the~~ action by the Assembly. Eastern Dept. would welcome any further observations the United Nations Dept. may have, <sup>especially</sup> on the tactics to be pursued in the Assembly if H.M.G. should in fact decide to press this point.

U.N. (E+5) Dept.

HJB:clg 5/9

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Minutes.

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The principal features of our general refugee policy are:-

(a) The refugee problem is, in the words of the UN General Assembly Resolution of 12<sup>th</sup> February 1946, "an international in scope and nature." In our view this means that all countries bear a certain responsibility towards solving this problem, which cannot be palmed off on Palestine alone.

(b) The Jewish refugee problem cannot be solved independently of the general refugee problem. Any attempt at resettling Jews at the expense of non-Jews or vice versa would in our view constitute an act of racial and religious discrimination.

(c) We cannot accept the contention that Jewish refugees have a special claim on the world's conscience. Jews and non-Jews alike suffered at the hands of the Nazis and Jewish refugees are entitled to the same protection from the authorities of their countries of origin as their non-Jewish compatriots. Jews are thus no more irrepatriable than non-Jews, since, (and we might make great play with this) we have no reason to believe that the Governments of their countries of origin would persecute Jewish repatriates. For our part we are anxious that as many d.p.s. as possible, Jew or Gentile, should return home, although

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minutes.

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although we are not prepared to force them to do so.

(d) We consider that, quite apart from its implications vis-à-vis Palestine, the exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe is most undesirable and should be stopped. Not only do these Jews constitute a serious burden on the German, Austrian and Italian economies, but the spectacle of thousands of Jews fleeing from their countries of origin is a serious deterrent to repatriation, especially since they allege that they are victims of persecution. ~~that~~ only The Assembly might well be advised to make certain that their recommendations for a solution of the refugee problem should not be of such a character as to tempt persons to desert their homelands and flood into Germany Austria or Italy. "Infiltrators" should either be refused assistance in resettlement ~~is~~ altogether or should be placed at the far end of the queue.

of the tactics to be followed

either be refused  
or should be placed at the far end of the line.

The question of the tactics to be followed  
at Lake Success is linked up with a number of  
questions of policy which are now under review.  
We shall, of course, keep the UK Delegation informed  
of any developments in the formulation of our  
refugee policy.

W. H. Willmington 8/9

W. H. Wilson 8/9

$$W_N(E)$$

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**Nothing to be Written in this Margin.**

J. S. Baird  
 Sept. 27

✓ 29/9

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the Wright 10/10 25/8

You may wish to read this letter before I have it entered. I think it should be minuted in the first instance by Bealey who returns from leave on Thursday

I think the letter is v. interesting because, although in parts v. speculative, it carries further than anything else I have seen the consideration of the interdependence of the Palestine problem & the European J.P. problem, goes into the possible long term serious consequences of the Jewish Agency's <sup>propaganda</sup> policy and suggests the conclusion that the solution of the Palestine problem depends the earlier solution of the no doubt equally insoluble J.P. problem - if the vicious circle goes into reverse! R.G. 2/78.

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26 AUG 1947

Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
S.W. 1.

August 23, 1947.

EY855

My Dear Garman,

26 AUG 1947

I send to you in Beeley's absence the attached copy of a secret and personal letter addressed by MacGillivray to Martin who is now on leave. It deals with an important possible consequence of partition which so far as I know has not been studied before - the problem of Jewish immigration into the new Jewish State. The possibility that the Committee, impressed by its sub-committee's report on the D.P. camps, may make a recommendation that, as no solution of the Palestine problem can fully solve the problem of Jewish D.P.'s, the nations of the world must themselves make separate contribution to the latter problem, is an important new factor, and I am wondering whether some reference to it ought not to be incorporated in the draft paper which Beeley and I are preparing on the line to be taken at UNO.

I shall be making contact with Beeley about this when he returns, but meanwhile you may wish to show the letter to Wright. Mr I. Thomas will be seeing it next week.

Yours ever  
Trafford Smith

(Trafford Smith)

P. GARRAN, ESQ.

(with apologies for  
late mail)

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51

20th August, 1947.

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2. Horowitz's /

J.M. Martin, Esq., C.B., C.V.O.,  
Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON. S.W.1.

A diagram showing a 6x2 grid. The top row contains numbers 1 through 6. Below the grid is a horizontal ruler with tick marks. The number 1 is placed below the first column, and the number 2 is placed below the second column.

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2. Horowitz's answers seem to admit the depth of the iniquity of the course followed by the political Zionists of to-day and simply reaffirm what we already know, that, in furtherance of their own ambitious immediate ends, they are prepared, by means of their thorough propaganda, to use the suffering masses of European Jews as their tool, to play upon their feelings and buoy their hopes in the full knowledge that for most of these Jews the genuine and passionate desire to migrate to Palestine with which they have been infected cannot be attained and must be frustrated and, when the time comes, may have to be frustrated by the very leaders by whom it is now fostered. In talking to individual members of Hood's sub-committee I have gathered that they were impressed by the following three features of the problem under their examination:-

(a) The stark determination of nearly 100% of the inmates of the camps to get to Palestine. Any faint doubts there may have been in the minds of some of the refugees had, they thought, been dispelled by the recent anti-semitic outbreaks in the U.K.; some of the camp inmates had told them that if such events can occur in the U.K. then it was obvious that there could be no security for them in any part of the world except in Palestine under a Zionist flag.

(b) The success of the elaborate Agency propaganda which had largely been instrumental in inducing this state of mind.

(c) The large numbers involved. The Anglo-American Committee, eighteen months ago, had found some 70,000 Jews living in assembly centres in Germany, Austria and Italy. These figures have now risen to nearly 250,000 despite the fact that Jews are no longer accepted in the centres in the American Zone of Germany. But this figure may soon be doubled by the addition of those who are on the way to the centres from eastern Europe (principally Roumania and Poland); this movement had received impetus from propaganda which anticipates a decision by the United Nations favouring increased immigration into Palestine and the sub-committee were informed that Jewish refugees are now arriving at the Rothschild Hospital transit centre in Vienna at a rate of 250 a day. Furthermore, the number who would start the journey to Palestine from the east via the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy as soon as some encouragement is given by the opening of the door to Palestine a little wider is greater still. The Jewish Agency estimate of those who wish to go to Palestine immediately is 600,000; and members of the sub-committee felt that this may be no exaggeration.

3. The Jewish Agency themselves no doubt realise that they have created a Frankenstein; if a Jewish State were to be created or they were to attain control over immigration under some other constitutional arrangement, the flow of Jewish refugees from the east would immediately increase in tempo and in volume and would reach such proportions (together with numbers from the Yemen and North Africa) that, even should the Agency deliberately attempt to create a ghetto in the Jewish area of Palestine in an attempt to force the hands of the United Nations to expand that area further at the expense of the Arabs, the time would come, and probably quickly, when they would wish, in self-preservation, to erect a storm-water dam and deflect a part of the flow to another country which, though /

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though perhaps not so desirable as Palestine in the spiritual aspect, would still provide an alternative refuge under a Jewish flag. It has been mentioned to me twice during the last week that the Jewish Agency has now applied officially to the Trusteeship Council for a slice of Tanganyika. I do not know whether this is true (Bunche tells me that he has no knowledge of it) and it seems most unlikely that the Agency would take such a step at the present moment; but such action at a slightly later date might quite well fit in to the picture; the Agency may well wish to make advance preparations designed to sap the strength of the Frankenstein which they have been creating, to provide a means of calming the anger of a disillusioned people which else might fall upon them.

4. The High Commissioner did, I think, mention in one of his telegrams that Mohn had a plan for the settlement of Jewish D.P.s in Italian Somaliland. The idea is not so fantastic as most of the members of the Committee appear to regard it. If one believes that the present-day problem of Palestine cannot be solved until the problem of the Jewish D.P.s of Europe has been solved and that the latter problem cannot be solved in Palestine then all effort should be concentrated, not on the immediate Palestine constitutional issues, but on finding an alternative home for the D.P.s. Some of the members of the Committee do, I fancy, appreciate this and it is likely that they will, like the Anglo-American Committee, preface their recommendations with one for an appeal by the Assembly to all member nations to play their part in solving the problem in this European aspect. This is not a recommendation which would commend itself to the Zionists and it is therefore unlikely to be a unanimous one; Granados and Fabregat would dissociate themselves from it. But if it were put in strong enough terms by all the remaining members, in terms which made it clear that the problem of Palestine can in no way be solved unless that of the D.P. camps is tackled, then there may perhaps be some faint chance that the Assembly would accept it and exact a guarantee from each member State to take a fixed quota; if the aggregate of these fixed quotas were, say, 250,000 and if America undertook to stop the flow from the east into the camps in the American Zone of Austria, then the Arab States might well be prepared to acquiesce in an immigration of 100,000 over a period of two years. On the other hand it is possible that such an appeal to the member Nations of the Assembly would have no more practical effect on the situation of the Jewish D.P. than did that following the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee; first, because the Jews of Europe are now more determined than ever to go to Palestine, whatever alternatives may offer; and, secondly, because the nations of the world may not care to dissociate the particular problem of the Jewish D.P.s from the problem, which is of greater proportions, of all D.P.s irrespective of creed and, while willing to take their share of non-Jewish D.P.s, will not be sufficiently interested in helping to solve the problem of Palestine to the extent of accepting their share of Jews. If, then, this appeal should fail, and even should it be partially successful in dissolving the Jewish D.P. problem, it is inevitable that, whatever constitutional changes may be effected in Palestine, whether or not a Jewish State is created and whether or not there is some form of trusteeship,

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illegal immigration, if not organized by sea then in trickles across the land frontiers, is bound to go on and the authority concerned in stopping it, whether it be a Jewish Government or Great Britain as trustee or some other agency of the United Nations, would find itself unable to return them to their country of origin; for no authority could continue to face the expense, odium and difficulties of playing over again and again the tragedy of the "Exodus 1947". If, then, the appeal should fail, is not Mohn's answer to the riddle the only practical one? Perhaps not necessarily Italian Somaliland but an area of land, no matter whether acceptable to the Zionists or not, to which Jewish refugees can be forcibly deflected from Palestine, and, if necessary, forcibly landed. It is true that, once there, provision would have to be made for their resettlement and that, unless the Jewish Agency was prepared to play, this might present a problem of international finance; it would therefore, of course, be desirable that the Zionist Organization should be induced to accept the selection of the alternative place of refuge.

5. All this is, of course, well-worn ground to you, but the point I wish to make is that, now that the problem is about to come under discussion at the Assembly, may there not be a danger that too much attention will be concentrated on constitutional forms in Palestine and not enough on what is really the heart of the problem, that is to say, the question of an alternative haven for the Jewish D.P.s. Should not therefore an endeavour be made to give pride of place in the forthcoming Assembly discussions to any proposals which may be put forward by the UNSCOP for an agreed redistribution of the Jewish D.P.s among the member Nations, or, failing that, by any country (? Guatamala) at the instance of the Jewish Agency for the allocation of territory within the old Italian Empire or elsewhere as an alternative Jewish home, so long as this did not involve the world in the conflicts of another Balfour Declaration?

DCM

P.S.

I hope you will treat this as a private letter. I have allowed my thoughts to run away with my pen and the fact that I have an idle afternoon is no excuse for inflicting them on you. My instinct is to put the letter in the incinerator, but, since parts of it may be of passing interest, now that it is typed I send it forward; ~~surely~~ on balance, it may be better that it should have that fate at your end rather than at mine.

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Those who believe that partition is, in principle, the correct solution, that in the long run it is inevitable and that, in practice, its introduction at any time up to some eighteen months ago offered the best chance of a peaceful Palestine yet may, perhaps, have cause to doubt whether the present is the right moment for this experiment. The reason for this doubt lies in the fact that to-day the problem of Palestine is the problem of the D.P. camps of Europe. Even the Arab States, and also a majority of the Arabs of Palestine, admit that, if the question of large-scale migration to Palestine can be disposed of, there is no reason why an accommodation with the Jews of Palestine should not be reached and that this might include recognition of (a) Jewish autonomy, amounting perhaps to sovereignty, within a specified area, in economic federation with an association of Arab States, and (b) a limited immigration into that area. But the Arab argument that the problem of the D.P. camps has nothing to do with Palestine and that the problems are entirely distinct and, in their examination, should be divorced is untenable. The fervent insistence on the part of the Jews still in Europe, within and without the D.P. camps, on migration to Palestine and their arrival in shiploads at the very doors of Palestine are facts which themselves refute this argument. The present problem of Palestine is in essence one of immigration and therefore cannot be solved until a solution is found to that of the Jews of Europe; the solution for that latter problem admittedly cannot be found in Palestine and a final and complete answer to it can only be given when a change in the attitude of the Jewish D.P.s towards Palestine has been brought about and their determination to achieve a refuge in Palestine, and in Palestine alone, has been weakened.

2. It is, however, argued that a partial solution for the problem of the Jewish D.P.s of Europe can be found in Palestine through /

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through the immediate creation of a Jewish State and that this partial solution is better than none. In considering this argument an attempt should be made to anticipate some of the probable steps consequent upon the creation of such State:-

(a) It may be assumed that at the outset the Jews as one man will protest to high heaven against what they will regard as the entirely inadequate and insulting proportions of the area allotted to them, unless of course such area was so large that it would inevitably contain a great Arab majority. However, although at first the Agency might refuse such a State and although a period of chaos might ensue (and it is not inconceivable that the Agency would welcome a short period of chaos during which they could attain certain objectives which could not be attained under ordered conditions), it is unquestionable that the pressure to commence immigration would be such that the Jewish Agency could not long resist the conversion of their status to that of a provisional Government; for until such Government is set up existing limitations on, and methods of, control over immigration would continue.

(b) It is improbable that the Jewish Government would at first attempt to place any limitation on immigration. The Jewish Agency has declared to the world that there could be no difficulty in absorbing at least one million refugees within ten years. There would be an immediate large immigration into the Jewish State from the D.P. camps, assisted by American shipping, and also from the Yemen and North Africa. Once the flood-gates were opened the flow would continue in increasing volume; the D.P. camps in Germany, Austria and Italy would empty, but they would fill up again and again from the East; Zionist propaganda has had such stupendous effect that there would be a united rush of the majority of the Jews of Europe to get to Palestine. The

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disastrous economic effect of this on the Jewish State would be apparent within a very short period, but this would not immediately stop the flow. The majority of the Jews of Palestine, in their own interests, would, however, soon wish to impose a limit on immigration and to select the type of settler to be admitted. But, even if the Jewish Government should be persuaded by public opinion in their State to impose such limits on immigration, it is doubtful if they could in fact stop it. Their propaganda in Europe has raised a monster which would turn against them and consume them; if legal immigration were checked, there would at once be illegal immigration into the Jewish State.

(c) It is, however, improbable that the Jewish Government would be willing to impose any limitations; the Jewish leaders might in fact welcome, on political grounds, the serious economic slump in the Jewish State which would inevitably follow large-scale immigration, so that they might be able to say to the United Nations:- "We told you it was too small; you forced us to accept it and now see what you have created, a ghetto worse than any in Jewish history; the world's conscience cannot allow us to die in our own land; there is only one way in which we can be saved, by expansion of the Jewish State at the expense of the Arab countries." And they would no doubt obtain American support for such a plea. The problem created by the Balfour Declaration would remain in yet more acute form and the chances of an agreed solution would be more distant than ever.

3. The conclusion would seem to be that, if a Jewish State were created, effective checks on immigration would not, or perhaps could not, be imposed by that State; it would be impossible to impose any external control in a matter of this kind in the case of a sovereign State; controlled immigration

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and a Jewish State would therefore appear to be incompatible. If then it is true that so long as there is uncontrolled immigration into the Middle East the Arabs will not acquiesce in any solution and that controlled immigration is a prerequisite to Arab-Jewish understanding, then there can be no Jewish State so long as the pressure to migrate to Palestine remains as strong as it is to-day. The problem of the D.P. camps must be solved first.

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